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It Is Necessary To Grasp the Changing Class Relations

- Study "The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Period of Resistance to Japan"

by

Shih Tung-hui (施东晖)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 8, August 14, 1976)

"The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Period of Resistance to Japan" was a report delivered by Chairman Mao at a National Conference of the Party held in May 1937. It was a programmatic document that guided the Chinese revolution in changing from a war of land revolution to a national war of resistance to Japan, and a brilliant example of applying Marxism-Leninism to an analysis of the changes in class relations and, on this basis, correctly formulating the Party's line and policies. To study Chairman Mao's analysis of the various classes at that time during the various phases of the democratic revolution and how he set the Party's line and policies on the basis of the changes in class relations will help us greatly study and profoundly understand the changes in class relations in the socialist period today.

When Chairman Mao made this brilliant report, the war of the land revolution was basically concluded, and the national war of resistance to Japan and for liberation was about to unfold on a full scale. The Chinese revolution was at an extremely important historical turning point. In the report Chairman Mao stressed the need not only to study the law governing the general development of class relations in the whole of the democratic revolution period but also to study the characteristics of the current phase of development. Throughout the historical period of the democratic revolution, the contradiction between imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism on the one hand and the Chinese people on the other was consistently the principal contradiction. The fundamental nature of this principal contradiction would not change until the conclusion of the historical course of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. However, in the course of development of this principal contradiction, it displayed different characteristics in the various stages of development due to changes in the two aspects of the contradiction and in other contradictions which were restrained by it.

In the transitional period from the war of land revolution to the national war of resistance to Japan, the principal contradiction in Chinese society was fundamentally unchanged in nature. Our Party still adhered to the basic line of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal new democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. However, changes in certain degrees of the principal contradiction determined the entry of the revolution into a new stage. As Chairman Mao pointed out in the report: "As the contradiction between China and Japan has become the

principal one and China's internal contradictions have dropped into a secondary and subordinate place, changes have occurred in China's international relations and internal class relations, giving rise to a new stage of development in the current situation." In the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, the contradiction between the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party on the one side and the northern warlords under the support of imperialism on the other became the principal contradiction in society. In the first half of 1927, imperialism carried out activities to divide the front of the Chinese revolution, and the big bourgeoisie, capitalizing on the domination of Ch'en Tu-hsiu's capitulationism within the Communist Party, usurped the leadership of the revolution. The national bourgeoisie, which became the tail of the big bourgeoisie, also betrayed the revolution. This caused the defeat of the First Revolutionary Civil War. As a result, new changes occurred in class relations. In the revolutionary camp only three classes remained at that time, namely, the proletariat, the peasantry and other petty bourgeoisie. In the counter-revolutionary camp the new warlords of the Kuomintang replaced the northern warlords and, with the support of imperialism, established the rule of the big landlord and big bourgeois classes, with the national bourgeoisie becoming the appendage of counter-revolution. From that time onward the Chinese revolution entered the period of the war of land revolution. At this moment, although the principal contradiction in society did not change fundamentally in character, it was different from what it was during the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War in that it manifested itself as a contradiction between the worker and peasant masses represented by the Communist Party on the one hand and the big landlord and big bourgeois classes represented by the KMT reactionaries on the other. In 1931, Japanese imperialism in order to turn China into its own exclusive colony started the "September 18" incident and then, in 1935, the incident in north China. So the contradiction between China and Japan gradually rose to become the principal contradiction in Chinese society while other contradictions dropped into a secondary place. Inside the country the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary fronts both underwent new changes.

These changes were first of all shown in the unceasing improvement in the degree of organization and consciousness of the proletariat and the peasantry and of the petty bourgeoisie. After the north China incident in 1935, the worker-peasant armed occupation quickly extended from only a few southern provinces, where the worker-peasant movements once developed vigorously in the early days of the war of land revolution, to the various northern provinces. The workers movement in the cities also basically put an end to the silent phase following serious damages caused by the Wang Ming line and deeply fomented the struggle against Japan and traitors. The people all over the country now rose for a full struggle for resistance to Japan and national salvation. As Chairman Mao pointed out, the revolutionary situation at this time changed from a localized into a nationwide one and gradually changed from a state of unevenness into a certain state of evenness. ("On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism") The insistent demand of the workers and peasants for resistance to Japan and opposition to

Chiang Kai-shek's non-resistance represented an important change in class relations and provided the main basis for the Party to work out a new adjustment in class relations.

Another important mark of the changed class relations at that time was the vacillation of the national bourgeoisie and the contradictions and divisions among the various cliques of the big landlord and big bourgeois classes. Chairman Mao pointed out: "The contradiction between China and Japan has changed internal class relations within China and has confronted the bourgeoisie and even the warlords with the question of survival, so that they and their political parties have been undergoing a gradual change in their political attitudes." This means that in the course of the revolutionary movement the balance of strength between various classes kept changing. The national bourgeoisie once followed the big bourgeoisie and betrayed the revolution; now, with the contradiction between China and Japan becoming the principal contradiction, it might possibly become again a friend of the revolution and a part of the motive force of the revolution. Not only that, but the landlord and comprador classes were also changing under the new situation. Among them, the pro-British and US groups might join the national united front for resistance to Japan, while the pro-Japanese groups were step by step throwing themselves into the camp of traitors. Under these new historical conditions changes to a certain extent occurred in the relations between enemies, friends and ourselves, thereby making it possible for the proletariat to form an anti-Japanese national united front with the national bourgeoisie (including certain groups in the landlord and comprador classes).

An important purpose of studying the changes in class relations was to distinguish between various classes and their different attitudes toward the revolution in different periods, so as to unite with all forces that could be united with, isolate to the maximum extent and strike at the principal enemy in the current stage and win the victory of the revolution. It was by grasping the contradiction between China and Japan which rose to become the principal one and by profoundly analyzing the distinctions in the class relations under the new situation that Chairman Mao formulated for our Party the correct line and strategy of developing the progressive forces, winning over the intermediate forces, dividing the enemy camps and concentrating on attacks against Japanese imperialism and the pro-Japanese elements in the landlord and comprador classes. Chairman Mao pointed out: Internationally, "the aim of our united front must be resistance to Japan, and not simultaneous opposition to all the imperialist powers." Internally, it was necessary to distinguish the pro-Japanese groups of the big landlord and big bourgeois classes from the pro-British and US groups of the same classes. The pro-Japanese groups were the running dogs of Japanese imperialism and must be dealt with by concentrated force. The pro-British and US groups, which had contradictions with Japan and with the people, should be persuaded to join the anti-Japanese front, and at the same time a struggle should be waged against their reactionary policies. To this end, our Party worked out corresponding tactical adjustments toward the pro-British and US groups of the big bourgeoisie represented by Chiang Kai-shek in light of the different political attitudes they adopted in

different periods. In the course of the north China incident in 1935, this class and its master developed a sharp conflict of interest with the Japanese aggressors, but since at that time the contradiction had not as yet become intensified, Chiang Kai-shek's basic political attitude was still one of selling out the country externally and carrying out the anti-communist civil war internally. In view of this, the Party Central Committee, when drawing up the policies for the anti-Japanese national united front, enforced the tactics of "opposing Chiang and resisting Japan." Then, following the intensification of the contradiction between the US and British imperialists and the pro-British and US groups of the big bourgeoisie on the one hand and the Japanese imperialists on the other and in the wake of the upsurge of the people's anti-Japanese movement, the political attitude of the Chiang Kai-shek group underwent certain changes. In view of this, the Party Central Committee in May 1936 promptly changed its tactics from "opposing Chiang and resisting Japan" to "forcing Chiang to resist Japan." In December the same year the Sian incident was solved peacefully, the pro-British and US groups of the big bourgeoisie were forced to give up the policy of civil war, and a new KMT-CCP cooperation began to take shape. This was a victory for the Party's tactic of "forcing Chiang to resist Japan." Since then, due to the continued attacks by Japanese imperialism, the growing strength of the people under our Party's leadership, the increasing inclination of the national bourgeoisie to resist Japan, and the sharpening of divisions among local factions of strength, the pro-British and US groups of the big bourgeoisie continued to develop in the direction of joining the anti-Japanese front, so in the first half of 1937 our Party changed its tactic from "forcing Chiang to resist Japan" to "allying with Chiang to resist Japan." A study of the course of this change shows that only when we analyze the political trends of various classes in different periods is it possible to formulate correct policies and tactics, arouse all forces that can be aroused, concentrate forces to strike at the current principal enemy, and win the victory of the revolution.

Historical experience proves that without investigation and study of the changes in class relations, any appraisal of the classes is bound to be an idealist one, and the result would be either opportunism or putschism. At that time, an important reason why Wang Ming pushed the "Left" line of "everything for struggle, and no alliance" was that they closed their eyes and basically denied the fact that changes in class relations were caused by the rise of the contradiction between China and Japan. They obliterated the changes in class relations, and they could not possibly distinguish the principal enemy, Japanese imperialism, from other non-principal enemies, nor could they see the new divisions that emerged within the national bourgeoisie and the landlord and comprador classes. They even attacked the intermediate forces as "the most dangerous enemies." As Chairman Mao said of them, they "shall not be able to use this tactical weapon of ours to strike at the main target before us, but instead we shall aim at a variety of targets so that our bullets will hit not the principal enemy but our lesser enemies or even our allies." ("On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism") Not only that, but when

our Party concentrated its forces to oppose the "Left" closed-doorism, the Right opportunist tendencies represented by Wang Ming, Liu Shao-ch'i and others developed gradually. From the right they distorted the nature of the changes in class relations following the north China incident and the Sian incident, spread illusions about Chiang Kai-shek, and politically gradually turned from closed-doorism to capitulationism. That was why Chairman Mao, when criticizing the newly risen capitulationist tendencies, pointed out that the reason the internal class contradictions had dropped into the secondary and subordinate place was that the contradiction between China and Japan and internal contradictions changed in terms of political importance, "but the domestic contradictions between classes and between political groupings still exist and have by no means diminished or disappeared." The new adjustments made by the Party in class relations until it re-established a united front with the Kuomintang were merely aimed at appropriately adjusting these contradictions, and absolutely not aimed at carrying out class reconciliations. With a view to preventing repetition of the mistakes of Ch'en Tu-hsiu's line, Chairman Mao admonished the whole Party patiently: "Is the proletariat to follow the bourgeoisie, or is the bourgeoisie to follow the proletariat? This question of responsibility for leadership in the Chinese revolution is the linchpin upon which the success or failure of the revolution depends."

Today, the Chinese revolution has entered the period of socialism. The internal principal contradiction has changed from one between the Chinese people on the one hand and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism on the other in the democratic revolution period to one between the working class and the bourgeoisie. But despite the basic changes in the nature of the principal contradiction, the investigation and analysis made by Chairman Mao of the changes in class relations in the various stages of the democratic revolution and the way in which he formulated the line and policies on this basis are still of extremely vital significance as a guide today. In order to make clear both in theory and practice the question that the bourgeoisie "is right in the Communist Party," it is necessary to make a penetrating investigation of today's class relations and to study any new changes that have occured in them. And to make a success of the investigation and analysis of the class relations, we must penetratingly criticize Teng, seriously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship, and master the theoretical weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. As Chairman Mao in the conclusion of "The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Period of Resistance to Japan" pointed out: "It is absolutely necessary to raise the Marxist-Leninist theoretical level of the whole Party, for Marxism-Leninism alone is the compass which can guide the Chinese revolution to victory."

* * *

Changes in Class Relations in Russia Before and After October Revolution

by

Fan I (范贻)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 8, August 14, 1976)

Every real revolution is, in the final analysis, a change in class relations. To analyze the changes in class relations in Russia before and after the October Revolution may help us come to a good grip with Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin said incisively: The relations between various classes in the course of a revolution change in keeping with the progress of the revolution. ("On the Problem of Revolution by the Whole People") In Russia, the revolution went through certain stages of development. In 1905, a bourgeois democratic revolution broke out in Russia, the first people's revolution in the era of imperialism. After this revolution was bloodily suppressed by the tsarist government, the Russian revolution temporarily turned into a low tide. In February 1917 the second bourgeois democratic revolution erupted. In a span of more than ten years, the outlook of various classes was subject to an examination. A handful of serf-owners and landlords headed by the tsar were extremely reactionary and decadent; the big bourgeoisie was extremely hostile to the proletariat which rose to make revolution; and the liberal bourgeoisie, though taking an anti-tsar stand, was more afraid of the people than it was of the reactionary forces and tried its utmost to befriend the tsarist government through monarchical compromises. Only the oppressed and exploited workers and peasants wanted revolution. Given such class relationships, the proletariat during the democratic revolution of February 1917 not only led the petty bourgeoisie but might possibly lead the liberal bourgeoisie to overthrow the monarchy. But soon new changes occurred in class relations. Having usurped the fruit of the February Revolution, the liberal bourgeoisie went all out to end the revolution and draw it into the orbit of constitutional monarchy. When the revolution developed to the stage where a Soviet of workers' and peasants' representatives was about to be established, they openly suppressed the proletariat and the Bolsheviks and fully became a counter-revolutionary class. Meanwhile, the social-revolutionaries and the Mensheviks who once appeared as petty bourgeois democrats and who once leaned toward the proletariat during the bourgeois democratic revolution, were always politically wavering since the petty bourgeoisie they represented was a class whose economic position was extremely unstable. They sold out the revolution in exchange for a share of the power in the bourgeois government and played a reactionary role of shielding the bourgeoisie.

When summing up the new situation in the wake of the changes of class relations after the February Revolution, Lenin pointed out: "The mutual relationships between various classes have changed. Herein

lies the cruz of the problem." "Now the classes which stand on 'both sides of the lamp-post' are no longer those classes which stood there before." ("Notes of a Publicist") Changes in class relations were followed by changes in the nature, tasks and target of the revolution. The past revolution was one in which the proletariat led the peasants and the bourgeoisie to oppose the tsarist system; now the revolution was one in which the proletariat led the poor peasants to oppose the bourgeoisie. The proletariat was faced with the imminent task of directly seizing political power.

After Lenin led the Russian proletariat to win the victory of the October Revolution, internal class relations underwent world-shaking changes. Three kinds of basic forces existed in Russia after the victory of the October Revolution: First the proletariat, which for the first time became the ruling class in society; then the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes, which became overnight the ruled classes and the target of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and third the petty bourgeoisie, which had a large population and mainly the masses of peasants in the countryside. The last class was again divided into certain strata and its condition was extremely complex; they might follow the proletariat or they might follow the bourgeoisie. The new changes in class relations did not mean the conclusion of class struggle, but that class struggle would be more impressive in content and more complex in form. As Lenin stated by way of analysis, "In the era of proletarian dictatorship, classes still exist, but each class has undergone changes and the mutual relations between them have also changed. Under the condition of proletarian dictatorship, class struggle has not disappeared but only takes another form." ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat")

The condition of class struggle in the Soviet Union after the victory of the October Revolution completely verified Lenin's thesis. In the summer of 1918, fourteen capitalist countries, including Britain, France, Japan and the United States, carried out armed intervention against the young Soviet regime. Inside the country the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes echoed with them and incited counter-revolutionary disturbances everywhere. The bourgeoisie in cities and rural areas, taking advantage of the difficulties in the period of the civil war,incited slowdown, engaged in profiteering and raised commodity prices in a vain attempt to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat. Why was the bourgeoisie, which was overthrown politically, still able to challenge the proletariat? The chief reason was that as they still had great superiority for a rather long period of time, they still retained certain means of production, large amounts of property and money. They still had extensive social ties and a far stronger and broader social basis than the proletariat. At the same time, there were still many social elements more experienced than the proletarians and who were helping the bourgeoisie. These were intellectuals raised by the bourgeoisie, openly using their knowledge to oppose the socialist revolution and construction by the laboring masses. In addition, the bourgeoisie still had an international foundation, and they themselves were part of international capital.

Class struggle in the rural areas also continued violently. During the October Revolution, only the serf-owners and big landowners were overthrown. When the peasants merely demanded equal use of the land, the class differentiation in the countryside had still not matured and not so patently revealed. By the summer and fall of 1918, the refusal of the rich peasants to submit to the Soviet system of requisitioning of surplus grain touched off a nationwide riot by the rich peasants. They formed a reactionary alliance with the landlords and capitalists, created a food crisis, and persecuted the workers and poor peasants with sensational sanguinary means. The rich peasants' counter-revolutionary revolts made the poor peasants understand from real life that their interests could not be reconciled with those of the rich peasants. So the poor peasants woke up and, with the support of the proletariat, organized poor peasants committees to wage a life-and-death battle with the rich peasants--the rural bourgeoisie. Lenin held that the splits in the rural class had incomparably far-reaching significance, for the countryside was no longer a unified countryside and it was necessary to expel the rich peasants, the last class of exploiters in Russia, from the countryside before the Russian revolution could fully take the socialist path.

Tremendous changes also occurred in the conditions of the classes in the countryside in Russia after the conclusion of the civil war. The number of rich peasants who owned a large quantity of land and poor peasants who were short of land and farm tools was greatly reduced, while the number of middle peasants increased. This caused the Russian countryside to become more petty bourgeois in nature. ("Speech at an All-Russia Transport Workers Congress") During the civil war, armed intervention by imperialism and counter-attacks in revenge by the landlords and rich peasants directly threatened not only the Soviet regime but also the revolutionary fruit of the peasants. Therefore, the peasants were willing to endure the extreme hardships caused by the economic destruction and deliver their surplus grain to the state without compensation so as to support the Red Army in fighting. However, after the victory of the civil war, the peasants were no longer willing to endure such hardships and were unwilling to deliver without compensation their surplus grain to the state for distribution. Among the peasants there were the tendencies and action toward petty bourgeois anarchism, and a sharp conflict with the dictatorship of the proletariat. At that time, Lenin pointed out that the fate of the Russian revolution depended on whether or not it was possible to defeat such forces. Lenin said that yesterday we met with the danger of restoring the exploiting system of the bourgeoisie and today there was the same danger of restoration which appeared in another form, namely, attacks by the spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie. "If the Russian proletariat is feeble and weak, then such forces alone could destroy the Russian revolution." ("Meeting of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee") This showed that carrying out socialist transformation among peasants and correctly handling the relations between workers and peasants was a very important problem of preventing capitalist restoration and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Under the condition of proletarian dictatorship, changes in class relations in society would inevitably be reflected more directly and penetratingly within the ruling political party. After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin still attached immense importance to the problem of appearance of a new bourgeoisie and bureaucrats within the Party and Soviet organs. This was because in the waves and storms of the great revolution some careerists and other harmful elements would inevitably worm their way into the ruling political party to corrupt and undermine its body. Among them, some were formerly old landlord and bourgeois elements and bureaucrats; some were petty bourgeois democrats and opportunists among the workers; and there were also people who, intoxicated with bourgeois rights and corrupted by bourgeois ideology, degenerated into new bureaucrats and new bourgeoisie. They held important posts, enjoyed privileges as members of the ruling political party and did their utmost to gain whatever benefits they could get. Facts proved that these people were far more ruthless than the old bourgeoisie in restoring capitalism. Lenin called them "the most detestable enemies in our midst." ("On the Internal and External Situation of the Soviet Republic") They posed the main danger under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fact that Lenin formulated a correct line and tactics for struggle through an analysis of the changes in class relations shows a far-reaching verity: for the proletarian political party to "make the most precise analysis, one that can stand objective examination, of the relations between the various classes and their concrete characteristics at each critical historical juncture" is to "build Marxist tactics on the only solid basis on which it should depend, namely, the basis of facts." ("Letter on Tactics," "Letter From Afar") Lenin not only put the stress on this, but in practice he set a brilliant example for us. After the February Revolution, Lenin, following a correct analysis of the condition of changes in class relations at that time, proposed that the proletariat must not lose time in pushing the revolution from the first stage--the bourgeois democratic revolution--to the second stage -- the socialist revolution. Although in the early days after the victory of the February Revolution, there was the situation of co-existence of two forms of political power, the bourgeois provisional government and the Soviets of the workers and peasants and Lenin once wanted to achieve this goal through the form of peaceful development, later class struggle, as Lenin pronounced, showed that all hopes for peaceful development of the Russian revolution were thoroughly dashed, and the proletariat could realize its own program only when it firmly prepared for armed uprisings to seize political power. Lenin bitterly denounced all words and deeds that stalled armed uprisings as the most heinous crimes against the revolution. The victory of the October Revolution fully testified to the correctness of Lenin's analysis of the changes in class relations at that time and of his line of armed uprisings.

After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin, through continuously dissecting the new changes in class relations, grasped the

new characteristics and new forms of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and on this basis formulated a series of correct tactics of struggle, thereby assuring the implementation of the Marxist line. As the bourgeoisie was still carrying out resistance in various ways, as a new bourgeoisie might still emerge, and as the masses of vacillating small producers might still follow the bourgeoisie, the possibility of capitalist restoration was always present. Therefore, the changes in class relations showed that only by strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat was it possible to consolidate and develop the gains of the October Revolution. The proletariat must not only overthrow the political rule of the bourgeoisie, but also seize the economic source of bourgeois power and further create conditions which would make it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise.

The struggle against the spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie was even more complicated and difficult than the struggle against the bourgeoisie. The peasants, accounting for the bulk of Russia's population, were "a special class." ("First All-Russian Congress on Social Education") They were both laborers and proprietors. As laborers, they were hostile to the landlords and capitalists who oppressed them and, given the education of real life, were capable of forming an alliance with the proletariat. As proprietors, the economic position of small commodity production caused them to have the spontaneous capitalist tendencies and lean toward the bourgeoisie to develop contradictions and struggle with the proletariat. For this reason, it was necessary to carry out transformation and education among the peasants, but this could be achieved only through long-term, slow and careful organizational work. In 1919, Lenin proposed changing the policy from neutralizing the middle peasants into forming an alliance with them. In 1921, in his outline report on the tactics of the Russian Communist Party, Lenin again pointed out: "The main task of the proletariat at present is to correctly formulate and carry out all sorts of necessary methods to assure leadership over the peasants, to form a solid alliance with them and, through many gradual transitional steps, change over to large-scale public agriculture using machines." In the new period of transition from civil war to peaceful construction, the problem of the peasantry became very prominent. How to continue to assure proletarian leadership over the peasants and unceasingly consolidate and develop the worker-peasant alliance under the new situation was a primary issue at that time. But the search for a new form of co-existence with the peasants was an extremely difficult and complicated thing, calling for a correct policy based on the characteristics of the changes in class relations. In the past, during the early period of the revolution and the civil war, every peasant realized that they could defeat their old enemies -- the landlords -- only by depending on the proletariat. On this basis, a solid alliance between workers and peasants was built. But in the period of transition from the war to economic construction, the old form was no longer applicable and the worker-peasant relationship had to be built on a new basis. The new economic policy adopted

by Lenin was a policy capable of not only rehabilitating agriculture quickly but also rehabilitating and developing industry and consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. It was through this policy that a new point of union for the worker-peasant alliance suited to the political and economic conditions at that time was found.

The new economic policy was implemented in a special period in the course of the Russian revolution, and it also represented a major change in internal policies. It embodied the characteristics of new changes in class relations. But the implementation of the new economic policy, which involved freedom of grain turnover, leases and transfers, etc., inevitably "implies the development of capitalist relations." ("Seventh Party Congress of Moscow Province") With changes in the methods of struggle, the conditions of danger also changed. When the Soviet government was first established, the danger came from the political side; following the outbreak of the civil war the military danger appeared; and after the economic policy was changed, capitalism was restored to a certain extent and this brought along a danger more serious than any danger in the past. Therefore, on the one hand it was necessary to enforce the new economic policy in order to facilitate the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance; on the other hand, it was necessary to strengthen state supervision and leadership and impose the necessary restrictions. In fact, the new economic policy implied a life-and-death struggle between capitalism and socialism under the new situation. The whole question was still this: Who defeats whom? Who could more quickly utilize this situation? Was the proletariat to organize the peasants on this basis or was the bourgeoisie to conquer the peasants? Hence, although the new economic policy was a necessary retreat at that time, it was not merely a retreat but also embraced an offensive against capitalism. Subsequent events proved the wisdom and correctness of Lenin's new economic policy. One year later, Russia's national economy developed substantially, the worker-peasant alliance was further consolidated, and the middle peasants leaned over to the proletariat. So, Lenin declared that the retreat was over and called for "preparing an attack on private capital." ("Outline of a Speech Delivered on March 27, 1922") In 1923, while taken seriously ill, Lenin proposed a plan of cooperatives, persisting in the direction of the first agricultural commune founded by eleven poor peasant households in 1918 and further pointing out the future for the millions and millions of peasants to pass over from the individual economy to the road of organized collective farms of large-scale production cooperation and for the socialist transformation of agriculture and the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance.

The history before and after the Russian October Revolution shows that the "Left" and Right opportunists always work out idealist appraisals of the strength of various classes without regard to the actual conditions of the changes in class relations in the course of the revolution. Take Trotsky for example. On questions of the peasants and their relationship with the workers, he stated with an ulterior motive that the dictatorship of the proletariat was bound to encroach

on the interests of the peasants and "develop a conflict with the peasant masses." And the politically naive peasants "are completely incapable of creating a reliable basis for the thoroughly effective policies of the proletariat;" on the contrary, they would "adopt a hostile attitude toward the proletariat" and turn their backs on the proletariat, causing it to sink into a state of isolation and helplessness. Such absurd theories were actually reactionary theories aimed at abolishing the basis of proletarian dictatorship and doing away with revolution. On the other hand, the Right opportunist Bukharin denied that class differentiation would still appear during the historical period of socialism, and even believed that "the system of proletarian dictatorship renders any exploitation impossible." Bukharin's erroneous viewpoint developed to an extremely absurd stage after Lenin's death; he believed that rich peasants and capitalists as well as contract enterpreneurs might all "peacefully grow" into the socialist system without class struggle. This was nothing but a kind of "theory of the dying out of class struggle." These erroneous policies of theirs went completely bankrupt before the reality of class struggle. In the course of leading the Russian revolution, Lenin waged a resolute struggle against the opportunist lines of Trotsky and Bukharin and, through restricting bourgeois rights and weakening the soil engendering the bourgeoisie inside the Party, opposed capitalist restoration on a still broader basis.

Recalling Lenin's analysis of the changes in class relations in Russia before and after the October Revolution and the line and tactics he adopted may help us see the utterly vital significance of studying the changes in class relations. Lenin said: "Whoever he may be, as long as he studies some history or Marxist doctrine, he should admit that when carrying out political analysis he should first raise a question about classes: To which class does the revolution belong? Which class opposes the revolution?" ("See Only the Trees But Not the Wood") A revolutionary partywhich does not understand this cannot tell who is the enemy of the revolution and who is its friend. In the course of the socialist revolution it may not even know where the bourgeoisie, the principal enemy, is and fails to see what is the main danger to the socialist revolution. Consequently, it will not be able to take class struggle as the key link and formulate its own correct line and policies. To avoid this mistake, it must carry out systematic and detailed investigation and study of the changes in class relations and understand the roles and attitudes of various classes in the revolution so as to work out a correct, and not idealistic, appraisal of the strength of various classes. Moreover, it must understand that class relations go on changing in the wake of the progress of the revolution. Chairman Mao pointed out recently: "You're making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party." This directive is precisely a scientific conclusion based on an analysis of the changes in class relations at present; it is a major development of Marxism. We must exert ourselves to study the relevant directives of Lenin and Chairman Mao, stick to class analysis, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end!

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The Essential Relations Between Man and Man Are Class Relations

by

Chai Ch'ing (翟青)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 8, August 14, 1976)

Why do we say the most essential relations between man and man are class relations? To understand this question thoroughly will help us correctly know the classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society, consciously consolidate and develop the economic base of socialism, and promote the development of socialist revolution and construction.

Ever since the emergence of human society, men's production activities have always been carried out on the basis of given relations of production. In primitive society, since people were equal in the appropriation of the means of production and the distribution of products, their positions in production and their mutual relations were also equal. It was only after the emergence of private property and class distinctions that the relations between man and man were stamped with class brands. In slave society, slave-owners appropriated not only the means of production but slaves as well. Not only were products created by slaves wholly owned by slave-owners, but the slaves themselves were bought and sold like cattle and commodities, and were even put to death by their masters at will. Such were the relations between the slave-owning class and slaves built on the foundation of absolute domination and absolute subordination. In feudal society, the landlord class owned the principal means of production in society -- the land, and practiced brutal exploitation of peasants through land rents. The Jung and Ning Houses described in the novel Dream of the Red Chamber may be taken as an epitome of the class relations in feudal society. Within the walls of the Grand View Garden, scores of masters ruled several hundred slaves, the former living extravagantly and the latter groaning from pain. Outside the walls even greater numbers of the laboring people smarted under the oppression by these feudal families. These antagonistic class relations between landlords and peasants constituted the principal contradiction in feudal society. In capitalist society, "there is remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash payment'." (Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto) On the surface, the capitalist principle of exchange of equal values appears to be equal to everybody, but actually it covers up the greatest inequality, namely, all are slaves of capital while capitalists are capital personified. "Silent coercion in economic relations assures the rule of capitalists over workers." (Marx, Capital) Invisible chains replace visible ones. Such are the class relations in capitalist society in which the commodity system predominates.

Looking back briefly over the history of development of human society, we can see clearly that all relations between man and man based on private property are acute, antagonistic class relations. After the proletariat seized political power, socialist public ownership replaced capitalist private ownership and the relations between man and man underwent fundamental changes. However, since there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, and three major differences and bourgeois rights still exist in socialist society, the relations between man and man remain essentially class relations. The only difference is that in socialist society there are two types of contradictions different in character which are governed by the principal contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, that is, contradictions between the enemy and us and contradictions among the people. Consequently, under conditions of proletarian dictatorship, two kinds of class relations different in character actually exist between man and man.

The relations between the proletariat on the one hand and the new and old bourgeoisie as well as all social forces and cliques that resist the socialist revolution, remain hostile to and undermine socialist construction on the other are entirely antagonistic class relations involving a life-and-death class struggle. All reactionary classes are never reconciled to their extinction, and they always attempt to stage a comeback in China and recover their lost "paradise." For this reason, the proletariat must not apply "benevolence" and "equality" to them, but can only apply the state apparatus to suppress them, allowing them only to behave properly and not to speak and act unruly. Since the liberation, a series of momentous political struggles were carried out by the people of the whole country under our Party's leadership -- such as the land reform, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, the three-antis and five-antis, the socialist transformation of ownership, the rectification and anti-Rightist campaigns, the socialist education movement and the great cultural revolution. They are sharp manifestations of such antagonistic class relations. As for capitalist roaders in power inside the Party like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, they are political representatives of the bourgeoisie, and commanders of all social forces and cliques that resist the socialist revolution, remain hostile to and undermine socialist construction in having trials of strength with the proletariat. Using that part of power they have usurped, they recruit deserters and renegades, form factions for private ends, formulate and push revisionist line from the above. They strengthen and extend bourgeois rights, oppress the workers, peasants, soldiers, students and petty officials, and enforce white terror. As Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "The bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other." "Their struggle with us is a life-and-death one, and it is out of the question to speak of equality between them and us Therefore, our struggle with them also can only be a life-and-death struggle." Since the founding of the People's Republic, the struggle between two lines and two headquarters has emerged on many occasions in

the Party, and since the advent of the great cultural revolution, a series of shocking events in class struggle from the "Outline of 'Project 571'" prepared and the counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat staged by Lin Piao to the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts stirred up and the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square engineered by Teng Hsiao-p'ing have taken place. Does all of this not clearly prove the acute nature of such struggles?

Among the people, the relations between man and man are essentially also class relations. Generally speaking, the fundamental interests among the people are identical. The character of our state of proletarian dictatorship determines that the mutual relations among the people are comradely relations of equality. However, among the people there are also different classes; since these classes differ in position, they also differ in their attitudes toward the socialist revolution. Besides, the differences left over from the old society between workers and peasants, between town and country and between manual and mental labor will still exist for a long time to come, and the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will also be reflected among the people. To be sure, such class relations among the people are different from the antagonistic class relations between the enemy and us, and the methods of handling such relations also vary. We can only apply democratic methods, methods of persuasion and education, methods of criticism and self-criticism. But if we confine our views to the identity of mutual relations among the people and lose sight of the contradiction and struggle among them, we shall incline toward the metaphysical viewpoint and are liable to be misled by the "theory of the dying out of class struggle."

Take the relations between workers and the peasants for example. The worker-peasant relations under socialist conditions are in essence a matter of consolidating the leadership of the working class over the peasantry and a matter of struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie to win over the peasants. In the course of socialist transformation of agriculture and capitalist industry and commerce, it was because we adopted a series of measures like unified purchasing and unified marketing, severed the capitalist ties between town and country and, on the basis of the high tide of agricultural cooperation, made the workers and peasants launch a two-prong attack that we forced the capitalists to accept socialist transformation. Today, as the workers and the peasants represent two different kinds of socialist ownership and the differences between workers and peasants still exist, as commodity exchanges are in fact still the principal economic form of worker-peasant ties, and as the price "differentials" between industrial and agricultural products cannot be entirely done away with within a short period, so the struggle between the two classes and two lines reflected in the question of winning over the peasants persists. For example, should we arrange for agriculture, light industry and heavy industry in that order and take agriculture as the foundation of the national economy, or should we adopt a different course? Should we develop commodity production under the guidance of the correct line

and according to the socialist principle and turn the worker-peasant relationship into one of mutual support and mutual promotion based on socialist ownership, or should we extend as far as possible those bourgeois rights that still exist in the process of exchanges between industry and agriculture? And so on and so forth. If these problems are not properly dealt with, they will directly affect the worker-peasant relationship. One distinctive feature of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line in the past was to stress industry and belittle agriculture, desperately try to enlarge the "differentials" and call for "tying peasants' necks." The result was to create a sharp opposition between workers and pesants. Capitalist forces in town and country, capitalizing on this, stirred up the bourgeois wind and undermined the socialist economy through the channels of commodity production and exchange through money, thereby causing the emergence in large numbers of new bourgeois elements. Therefore, we must constantly conduct socialist education among the worker-peasant masses, criticize revisionism and capitalist tendencies and strike at the criminal activities of new and old bourgeois elements before we can develop the socialist relations between workers and peasants and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

The relations between leaders and the masses, including those between managerial staff and technicians on the one hand and the masses on the other, are likewise restrained by the law of class struggle. In human society, all direct social labor relatively large in scale entails the need for division of work between leaders and the led, between the managers and the managed. This kind of division of work represents unequal relationship between the rulers and the ruled in slave, feudal and capitalist societies. But in socialist society, since such relations among the people are not based on exploitation and oppression but are based on a single revolutionary goal, so between the leaders and the masses, "though differing in work, they are all masters." "All our working cadres, whatever their ranks, are servants of the people." In the history of our Party, both the Party and the army it leads have always handled the internal relations according to the principle of unity between the superior and the subordinate, between officers and men, and the relations between the leaders and the masses are equal, comradely relations. However, under socialist conditions, leaders and the managerial staff are generally in the position of mental laborers, while the worker-peasant masses are in the position of manual laborers. In this respect, there are still traces of the old capitalist division of labor, and actual inequality still exists in such fields as distribution. Given the erosion of landlord and bourgeois ideologies and the influence and action of bourgeois rights and the concept of bourgeois rights, new class differentiation may possibly appear if we lower our guards. Chairman Mao pointed out as early as 1964: "Management itself is a matter of socialist education. If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working

class." Is this not clearly borne out by the history of the great cultural revolution? Why were some cadres criticized and struggled against by the masses? One reason was that they carried out the revisionist line, and the masses resented it. The other was that they had become high officials. They drew high salaries, regarded themselves as high and mighty, and refused to treat others as equals or consult the masses over problems. They gave importance to ranks, put on airs, became undemocratic, stood high above others, and divorced themselves from the masses. Thus, the masses had complaints against them. They had no chance to speak out until the advent of the great proletarian cultural revolution. For this reason, all cadres, both old and new, should learn a lesson from this and should forever bear in mind "the cadres of our Party and state are ordinary workers, not overlords sitting on the backs of the people." They should serve the people heart and soul, get rid of the idea of ranks and grades, insist on becoming one with the worker masses, and not separate themselves from the masses and labor for a single moment. Only thus can they represent the interests of the masses and lead the broad masses forward in struggling together for the liberation of mankind.

It can be seen from this that even when the problem of socialist ownership has in the main been solved, the new socialist relations between man and man cannot be formed spontaneously, still less can they become fixed and unchangeable. Over this question, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has all along been very acute. With regard to those bourgeois rights that still exist in the mutual relations among people, the proletariat must restrict them from all aspects and gradually create the conditions for their ultimate abolition. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie will always do its best to extend and strengthen bourgeois rights, strive to introduce the principle of commodity transactions into the mutual relations among people, and use the capitalist monetary and mercenary relations and competition to undermine and replace the socialist mutual relations, to disintegrate and destroy the socialist system and restore capitalism. Therefore, at the same time as we continue to effect socialist transformation in the ownership of the means of production, we must persevere in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts, restrict bourgeois rights and see to it that the relations between man and man are constantly adjusted and improved.

Marxism holds that in the relations of production, the system of ownership decides the mutual relations among people, but at the same time it must be realized that the mutual relations among people will react on the system of ownership. Therefore, whether the socialist system will go forward or backward is closely bound up with the question of whether the mutual relations among people can be adjusted. Here, the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. If leadership is in the hands of Marxists and worker masses and if Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is carried out seriously, the negative effect produced by bourgeois rights will be restricted, the communist factor in the mutual relations among people

will be greatly fostered, and a lively political situation marked by unity in battle, equality and mutual aid will arise among the people. If the ideological and political line of the leadership is not correct and if an attempt is made to promote such dirty things as "control, check and repression" and "material incentives" and to exploit bourgeois rights to create a privileged class, then the relationship between cadres and the masses will become one between cats and mice, between masters and slaves, the mass enthusiasm for socialism will be repressed, the decadent ideology and style of the bourgeoisie will grow among people, and it will be impossible to consolidate the socialist system of ownership. As to those units where leadership has been usurped by a handful of capitalist roaders, what is practiced is bourgeois rule and the mutual relations among people have long degenerated into relations between the exploiters and the exploited, between the oppressors and the oppressed. Under such circumstances, the socialist system of ownership has virtually been transformed into a capitalist system of ownership under the control of capitalist roaders.

Whehter or not to recognize that the mutual relations among people under socialist conditions remain essentially class relations is, in the final analysis, a question of whether or not to recognize that throughout the historical period of socialism there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, whether or not to uphold the basic line of the Party and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end. All revisionists will invariably obliterate and cover up the class essence of mutual relations among people in order to achieve their criminal aim of capitalist restoration. Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their like use such absurdities as "party of the whole people" and "state of the whole people" to deceive and benumb the Soviet people. This is also true of capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. They desperately advertise the "theory of the dying out of class struggle," saying preposterously "classes have been abolished" and "all people work and live together like members of the same family." There is nothing strange about this. As a matter of fact, they are the bourgeoisie hiding in the Party. When Marxism recognizes the mutual relations among people as class relations, it is precisely for the purpose of upholding the Party's basic line taking class struggle as the key link and pushing the socialist revolution forward. Since the advent of the great proletarian cultural revolution, many new things have emerged under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. For example, on the basis of a series of Marxist principles of enterprise management evolved from the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," cadres practice "three-togetherness" with workers and take part in collective productive labor, while workers participate in enterprise management. The three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young is enforced. Cadres and people of all trades adhere to the "May 7" road indicated by Chairman Mao and there are barefoot doctors and medical cooperative services. There are the experiences of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers and the experiences

of Chaoyang Agriculture College in recruiting its students "from communes and sending them back to communes." Educated youths have gone to the mountainous and rural areas. All these are effective measures drawn up on the basis of the Party's basic line for restricting bourgeois rights, narrowing the three major differences and adjusting the mutual relations among people under the dictatorship of the proletariat; they are gains of the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, and important signs of the penetrating development of the socialist revolution.

In "Class Struggle in France, 1848-1850" Marx pointed out explicitly: The dictatorship of the proletariat is to do away with all class distinctions, all relations of production caused by these distinctions, and all social relations which correspond with these relations of productions, and to change all ideas born of these social relations. Today, this great task of proletarian dictatorship set forth by Marx is being vigorously implemented by us under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the communist spirit is flourishing throughout the country, and the sprouts of new things are coming out from the soil. However, it must be realized that class struggle has not died out, nor has the struggle reflected in the mutual relations among people. All revolutionary comrades should take the lead in becoming promoters to restrict bourgeois rights and vanguard fighters for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and struggle hard for the ultimate elimination of all class distinctions, all relations of production, all social relations and all ideas mentioned by Marx.

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Attach Importance to the Study of Changes in Class Relations in the Socialist Period

by

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(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 8, August 14, 1976)

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In this historical stage the principal contradiction remains to be one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Like all things in motion and development, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie develops in the course of class struggle. Therefore, we must undertake systematic and detailed investigation and study of the changes in class relations at each stage in socialist society. If we are content with an understanding of concepts, we shall be confined to idealist and metaphysical class assessments and drift from class struggle which is the key link.

In this regard, Chairman Mao has set a shining example for us. In leading China's democratic revolution, he penetratingly pointed out that the principal contradiction then was one between the masses of the people on the one hand and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat monopoly capitalism on the other, a contradiction which would persist until the completion of the democratic revolution. But at different periods of the new democratic revolution, Chairman Mao again pointed out in good time that all kinds of class relations which were governed and restrained by this principal contradiction--such as the relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, those between the proletariat and the peasantry together with other petty bourgeois classes, between the peasantry and the landlord class, between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, and between the Chinese people and various imperialist countries--underwent, without exception, concrete, striking and specific changes with the changing class struggle situation. In the period of the agrarian revolution war, as a result of the changes which occurred in the balance of force between various classes, the national bourgeoisie betrayed the revolution and became the tail of the comprador bourgeoisie. However, following the 1931 "September 18" incident and particularly after the 1935 North China incident, the Sino-Japanese contradiction gradually intensified and became predominant. Chairman Mao was then quick to point out that not only would it be possible for the national bourgeoisie to rejoin the revolutionary camp, but even the pro-UK and pro-US factions among the comprador bourgeoisie changed their political attitudes and might temporarily form a united front with us. At the same time, Chairman Mao also pointed out that since the nature of the comprador bourgeoisie would remain unchanged, in the course of forming a temporary alliance with Chiang Kai-shek we must not abandon the leadership of the proletariat nor repeat the mistake of Ch'en Tu-hsiu's capitulationist line. Furthermore, Chairman Mao also made a profound analysis of the changes that occurred in different periods in the composition of the diehards, the middle-roaders and the revolutionists in the anti-Japanese national united front. For instance, in the initial

stages of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the local groups of strength, as a wing of the big landlord and big bourgeois classes, were identified with the diehard camp, but with the aggravation of their contradiction with the central forces of the Kuomintang and the consequent changes in their political attitude, they were included in the camp of the middle-roaders.

The socialist revolution is a profound social revolution of unprecedentedly broad dimensions in the history of mankind. Chairman Mao said in 1957: "We are in the period of a major social upheaval. The Chinese society has long been in the thick of major upheavals. The period of the War of Resistance Against Japan was a big upheaval and so was the period of the War of Liberation. But in terms of its nature, the present upheaval is far more profound than previous upheavals." ("Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work") This big change will pervade the entire historical period of socialism from beginning to end. As long as the course of socialist society is not over, the changes in class relations will not come to an end, nor will the process of our understanding of the basic contradictions in socialist society. Why is it that after the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants still want revolution while a section of the Party members do not want to go forward and in some cases even move backward and oppose the revolution? Why is it that among a section of the working class and a section of the Party members capitalism and the bourgeoisie are engendered spontaneously and on a mass scale? Why is it that after the basic establishment of the socialist system of public ownership, the influence of small production (which spontaneously engenders capitalism every hour and every minute) is much in evidence everywhere? Why is it that within socialist enterprises some leading cadres have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers, and find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class? Why is it that persons in power taking the capitalist road like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing have appeared in the ruling Communist Party? Why is it that once people like Liu, Lin and Teng come to power it will be quite easy for them to restore capitalism? And why is it that the core of the bourgeoisie and its main strength are no longer outside but inside the Party? Doesn't all of this illustrate that in socialist society today there are indeed profound class changes? Doesn't it bring home the contradictions and conflicts between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the two major antagonistic classes, and the fact that both classes themselves are undergoing profound changes? If we merely give lip service to contradictions and struggles without conducting investigation and trying to understand such changes in class relations, then we will not be truly sober Marxists.

Whether or not we can correctly understand the changes in class relations relates to the cardinal issue of whether or not we can correctly formulate and carry out the Party line. The Party's basic line for the historical stage of socialism, put forward by Chairman Mao, is formulated on the basis of a systematic and detailed investigation and study of class relations in the socialist period. Adhering to the Party's basic line is equally contingent on a correct understanding of the changing class

relations. Why is it that some people carry out the counter-revolutionary revisionist line espoused by people like Liu Shao-ch'i? Some do so because their thinking fails to keep pace with the changes in class relations and they are only familiar with class struggle under certain conditions (such as, for instance, before the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production). Failing to understand class struggle waged under new historical conditions, they are at a loss to know where the bourgeoisie is and consequently fall a prey to the fallacy of the dying out of class struggle spread by people like Liu Shao-ch'i. And to replace the Party's basic line with the revisionist line, Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang always did their utmost to identify certain changes in class relations with the dying out of class struggle. They negated the assertion that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party and that the bourgeoisie inside the Party is the main target of the socialist revolution. Not long after resuming work, Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged that the task at the present stage was to achieve the four modernizations, declaring that proceeding "along this direction" would do. According to his interpretation, does it mean that socialist society ceases to change and develop? That there is no longer the need for revolution and struggle? The so-called revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" is deduced from this hypothesis. Therefore, studying the new changes in class relations meets the need for combating and preventing revisionism and for persisting in continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Correct policies and tactics must likewise be based on a correct assessment of class relations and their changes. Otherwise, there will be confusion as to whom we should rely upon, whom we should unite with, whom we should hit hard at and how we should unite with all the forces that can be united with in order to isolate as far and as much as possible and hit hard at the principal enemy in the present revolutionary phase. For instance, among people who made the same mistakes as the capitalist roaders, the majority, with the help of the Party and the masses, are able to recognize their errors, draw lessons from their mistakes, and continue to advance along the revolutionary path. However, there are also people like Teng Hsiao-p'ing who persist in their mistakes and become unrepentant capitalist roaders. The spearhead of our attack should be aimed at such an arch unrepentant Party capitalist roader in power as Teng Hsiao-p'ing. At the moment, we must concentrate on the criticism of Teng and deepen the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

Our country is now in an important period of historical development. We have won great victories. But classes, class contradictions and class struggle still persist and so do bourgeois rights. The international bourgeoisie is still around and revisionist influence still exists. Therefore, "the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road," and this will be a prolonged historical phenomenon. Seriously studying the changes in class relations in the socialist period and making clear, in theory and in practice, the question that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party will be of immense immediate and far-reaching historical significance to our persistence in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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Teng Hsiao-p'ing Is a Faithful Disciple of Bernstein

by

Yen Feng (延 风)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 8, August 14, 1976)

Revisionists always try their utmost to nullify the ultimate goal of the proletarian revolution. Their venerable master Bernstein won recognition for this well-known remark: "The ultimate goal is nothing, the movement is everything." Lenin pointed out incisively that this remark "expresses the substance of revisionism far better than many lengthy treatises." ("Marxism and Revisionism") The arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, is Bernstein's faithful disciple.

A glance at Teng Hsiao-p'ing's personal history shows that though he was swept into the ranks of the Communist Party during the new democratic period, he has neither accepted the Party's supreme program nor recognized the realization of communism as the inevitable law of historical development and the ultimate goal of Communists. While to a certain degree he is identified with the proletariat on anti-imperialist and anti-feudal issues, he has never been so identified on such questions as the leadership and the future of revolution. While real Marxists joined the new democratic revolution with the grand objective of communism in mind, Teng Hsiao-p'ing stubbornly clung to capitalist ideals, advertised himself as "a citizen under the flag of blue sky and white sun, the Three People's Principles," and proclaimed the founding of a "truly independent, free and happy new democratic republic based on the Three People's Principles" as the ultimate goal of the revolution. This bourgeois democratic world outlook espoused by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is as irreconcilable with the communist world outlook as ice is with burning coal. If the communist world outlook is not used to defeat the bourgeois world outlook, "yielding to the big landlord and big bourgeois classes will risk the danger of our Party and state perishing." (Chairman Mao, "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art")

In the period of the socialist revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing's bourgeois democratic world outlook has never been remolded. Although he finds himself in the socialist period, ideologically he remains in that stage of "independent, free and happy Three People's Principles." When the Party Constitution was revised in 1956, he openly shouted: "The articles of the Party Constitution should not include struggle for communism." This was a flagrant exposure of his betrayal of the Party's ultimate goal. Sometimes he would utter some "communist" phrases, but as regards his interpretations of communism or ways of struggling for communism, he was diametrically opposed to Marxism. On the question of what communism was, he declared that "communism" was "every home has a bicycle, a sewing machine and a television set, every person has 60 catties of meat a year, half a catty of apples and two taels of white wine a day." "With everybody living the way I do, we have communism." This kind of "communism," which

indulges in the pleasures of life and is pervaded with bourgeois egoism and hedonism, is downright Khrushchev-type false communism and real capitalism. On the question of how to struggle for the realization of communism, he negated the Party's basic line and called for "advance toward communism through material incentives" by following in the footsteps of Khrushchev and Brezhnev. All this shows that although Teng Hsiao-p'ing carries the Communist Party membership card, he doesn't have the slightest flavor of a Communist. Only the specter of Bernstein keeps haunting him.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing is quite at home with Bernstein's credo that "the ultimate goal is nothing." Didn't Bernstein say "the movement is everything"? So Teng Hsiao-p'ing came up with "everything for modernization." Look you, modernization is everything, the ultimate objective doesn't count at all! Thus Teng Hsiao-p'ing took advantage of the revolutionary people's urgent desire to achieve the four modernizations to divorce the present tasks from the long-range goals and set them against each other. He dished out slogans to mislead the public and used rotten and stinking bourgeois notions to limit people's vision, trying every means to erase the grand communist objective from the minds of the revolutionary people. He made wild promises of "five sons joining the imperial court" to lure the revolutionary people to see only the small gains under their noses and become political philistines struggling for houses, tickets, wives and sons. As Engels put it: "Seeing only the immediate and temporary benefits and forgetting the basic objective, seeking momentary successes without caring for the consequence, and sacrificing the future of the movement for its present" "is opportunism, opportunism first and last." ("Critique of the Draft Program of the Social-democratic Party, 1891")

As early as the period of the democratic revolution, Chairman Mao taught us: "Our present endeavor is directed toward the major objective of the future and whoever misses this major objective is no Communist. However, he who relaxes the present effort is no Communist either." ("Struggle To Win Millions and Millions of the Masses To Join the Anti-Japanese National United Front") Chairman Mao penetratingly expounded how every Communist should handle the relations between the present tasks and the long-range objective. Realizing communism is the law of social development, and every Communist should consciously grasp the general trend of historical development. He should remain far-sighted in every revolutionary stage. He should bear "the grand objective of the future" in mind without losing sight of the protracted course of struggle in the transition toward communism, and put the stress on "today's effort." As long as we integrate our immediate tasks with the realization of the larger objective, deepening the socialist revolution step by step, we shall advance, step by step, toward communism.

Socialist society "is a period of struggle between decaying capitalism and rising communism, in other words, between capitalism which has been defeated but not extinguished and communism which has been born but is still very weak." (Lenin, "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat") How should we view the old birthmarks

that exist in socialist society? This is a question that must be resolved in correctly dealing with the issue of "the grand objective of the future" and "today's effort." In the view of Marxists, the existence in socialist society of old birthmarks such as bourgeois rights is of course determined by historical inevitability, but judging from the larger objective of communism, they are after all decaying capitalist factors. "Communists the world over are wiser than the bourgeoisie, for they understand the laws governing the existence and development of things, understand dialectics, and see farther." (Chairman Mao, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship") While admitting the existence of bourgeois rights, we always stress the need for their restriction, and to permit them to exist for the time being is to eliminate them in the future. Restricting bourgeois rights and gradually narrowing the three major differences exactly contribute to the realization of the grand objective of the future through today's effort.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who has long thrown overboard the grand objective of communism, is full of praise for the existence in socialist society of the old birthmarks, like a fly attracted to dirt. He describes bourgeois rights reflected by commodity production, exchange by means of money, distribution according to work and the differences in grades as unalterable and inviolable principles. He has a rationale for the old things, asserting that "restricting bourgeois rights should also have a material basis" and "distributing more to those who work more is justified." But he avoids mentioning their incompatibility with communism. He prates about the need for the existence of bourgeois rights but makes no mention of their inevitable doom. He is particularly reticent about the grave danger of the new poisonous weeds of the bourgeoisie growing on the old soil. After all, "what does it matter if a cat is white or black as long as it catches mice." If the pocket of the bourgeoisie is filled, it doesn't matter whether communism or capitalism is practiced. Doesn't this philosophy serve as a footnote to Teng's thesis that "the ultimate goal is nothing"? In fact, if today's effort is relaxed and nothing is done to uproot the birthmarks left over from the old society, it will not only be impossible to pass over to communism but also hopeless to keep the fruitful gains of the socialist revolution, and capitalism will be restored. This is exactly what the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party represented by Teng Hsiao-p'ing have dreamed about.

One who is boundlessly attached to decaying capitalism invariably finds growing communism repugnant. Teng Hsiao-p'ing wanted to throttle the new things possessing communist factors. One of the charges that he levelled against them was that they "overstepped the socialist stage." He vilified the cooperative medical service which overcame the lack of doctors and medicine in China's broad countryside as "whipping up a wind of communization." When the worker-peasant-soldier students returned to production after graduation and identified themselves with the worker and peasant masses, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his gang accused us of "practicing communism right away." Such attacks revealed not only Teng Hsiao-p'ing's total ignorance of communism but also his resentment and hostility toward communism. Since the advent of the great cultural revolution, the vast numbers of workers, peasants and soldiers have broken the narrow vision of

bourgeois rights and carried forward the communist spirit. Can it be that they have "overstepped a stage"? Can it be that our struggle for communism should not commence today but has to be deferred to the distant future? Communism is not something that drops all of a sudden from the sky one night, and the flying qualitative leap of everything invariably has to be achieved through continuous accumulation of quantitative changes. Today, the new things that grow sturdily in the socialist motherland are exactly communist buds. Our wholehearted efforts to cultivate and nurture these buds and promote their growth will hasten the doom of the old things and promotion of communist factors. We are advocates of both uninterrupted revolution and the development of revolution by stages. We are naturally unable to do those things beyond the reach of objective conditions, but we must never forget our long-range objective. On the pretext that we are still in the socialist stage, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his ilk wanted to throttle the new things that glitter with the radiance of communist ideology, and in this sense, they tried to kill not only the present but also the future. When they opposed "the present endeavor to practice communism," they in fact opposed the realization of communism in the future.

Improvising measures to cope with immediate problems, drifting along, accommodating momentary changes and forgetting the fundamental interests of the proletariat--these are the common characteristics of revisionism. Economism, Bernstein's variant in Russia, fanatically preached the worker movement's "motto" as "a struggle to improve the economic situation." They alleged that "to raise every ruble of wage by one kopek is more practical and worthwhile than any type of socialism or politics." In a word, they disdained communism, and knelt before money. Didn't Teng Hsiao-p'ing follow in the footsteps of his revisionist forbears?

When revisionists negate the "ultimate objective" of realizing communism, does it mean they have no "ultimate objective"? Of course not. They look upon the proltariat's final goal of realizing communism not only as "nothing" but virtually as a deluge and a wild beast. On the other hand, they regard their own final goal of safeguarding and restoring capitalism not as "nothing" but as a matter of prime importance--"Of all things this is the most important." From the old social democrats to the modern revisionists, from Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao to Teng Hsiao-p'ing, there is no exception.

In the past century and more, the communist movement all over the world has advanced continuously in the course of tortuous struggles. "Without struggle there will be no progress." Led by Chairman Mao, we the Chinese Communists and Chinese people have struggled for more than half a century for the most noble cause of all mankind--communism. We are one step closer to this great objective each time we triumph over the opportunist line. Particularly in the wake of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have gained a more concrete understanding of the law and characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period and have thus hardened our faith in our advance toward communism. No matter how many difficulties and dangers may be along the road of advance, nothing can alter the general trend of historical development heralding the doom of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of the proletariat.

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Oppose Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "Direct and Exclusive Control"

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 8, August 14, 1976)

The Shanghai Heavy-Duty Machinery Plant, the Shanghai Electrical Machinery Plant, the Shanghai Boiler Plant and the Shanghai Turbine Plant are four plants in the Minhsing district which are directly under the First Electro-mechanical Machinery Bureau. Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the personnel in charge of stocks have greatly raised their ideological consciousness. In mutual transfer of materials, numerous advanced deeds have appeared among them--about people who actively support their fraternal units and keep the difficulties for themselves, people who display a fine style of work and are concerned about the line and the general situation. However, due to the influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing and due to the existence of bourgeois rights, we often lack an overall viewpoint in our attitude toward mutual transfer of materials, regarding stocks in our separate charge as being exclusively the property of one plant or one unit, instead of regarding them as the property owned by the whole people. All our plants are located in the Minhsing district and some are just next-door neighbors. Logically we should show concern for and help each other in the supply of spare parts for many products. Yet some comrades in charge of stocks often adopted a wrong notion: "Think before you speak or the materials will be taken away from you." They seldom exchanged what they had for what they did not have. With the passage of time, the various units were accustomed to having their own "reserves," with each going its own way. When they were urgently in need of raw materials, they would first stretch out their hands upward and request supplies from the state or else go out searching for help, instead of practicing coordination and cooperation within the "area of a hundred paces."

In the course of the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, the cadres and workers of the supply departments of our four plants deeply criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line taking into account the actual condition of the two-class, two-line struggle in the sphere of material allocation. It was felt that the underlying cause for the existence of these problems in the work of material supplies was still the influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Particularly after Teng Hsiao-p'ing went back to work, he intensified his "direct and exclusive control," wielding the "rectification" stick to practice control, check and repression. By practicing "direct and exclusive control," he turned ownership by the whole people into ownership by the department, and this encouraged the growth of ownership by small units and groups at the basic level. Property and materials which belonged to the state were piled up in the warehouse of one's plant instead of being used to adjust supplies and to aid the fraternal plants in need. Therefore, the various problems which appeared at the basic level were attributed to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "direct and exclusive control." Our four plants are owned by the whole

people. Although they work in different fields and have different tasks, they all belong to the whole laboring people. On the question of handling material supplies, they must have an overall viewpoint and put communist ideas in command. This will make it possible to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system, consolidate and develop the socialist economic base, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. If Teng Hsiao-p'ing were allowed to succeed in this plot of "direct and exclusive control" and to promote ownership by departments and small units, then in time the nature of ownership by the whole people in our country would surely change, the socialist economic base would be disintegrated, and the socialist system of ownership by the whole people would turn into a capitalist system of ownership under the control of capitalist roaders. We must not fall into this trap.

Our thinking enhanced through criticism of Teng, we are determined to oppose Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line in the work of material allocation. Since the beginning of this year, our four plants have organized, once a month, material mutual aid and transfer activities. The capitalist roaders promote ownership by departments and small units, but we set up the overall viewpoint and display the communist style. In the course of mutual aid and transfer activities, the four plants supply each with what the other lacks. Each plant regards the difficulties of the other plants as its own and assistance to fraternal units as its own bounden duty instead of a "difficult-to-avoid obligation." The style of cooperation has developed and mutual relations have improved. The quantity of materials exchanged on each occasion amounts to an average of over 250 tons. Since July, more than 1,800 tons have been exchanged. A lively situation has appeared in which "everyone follows a coordinated chart and the water of the Dragon River /communist-style cooperation/ flows through the four plants." For instance, the Shanghai Turbine Plant in its February production was in urgent need of a certain kind of thin steel plates. The Shanghai Heavy-Duty Machinery Plant had such material, but it had to use them soon. The Shanghai Boiler Plant also had such thin steel plates, but since these were rolled steel plates, they had to be straightened before they could be used. In these circumstances, the Heavy-Duty Machinery Plant on its own initiative proposed to use its own thin steel plates to help the Turbine Plant, and then acquired the rolled steel plates from the Boiler Plant and straightened them for use. In this way the urgent needs of the Turbine Plant were filled. In another instance, the Heavy Duty Machinery Plant in its April production urgently required in large quantity two kinds of materials in tight supply. According to past practice, a request would be made to the state for the supply of these materials, and if such a request could not be met promptly, production was bound to be affected. Now, when one plant is in difficulties, the other three plants share them. The Boiler Plant, the Electrical Machinery Plant and the Turbine Plant promptly supplied the Heavy-Duty Machinery Plant with materials they did not use for the time being. The material supply personnel of our four plants said with deep feeling: "The warehouses of the four plants are in the same family. They work together to promote the development of production. The new-type relationship is praised by everybody."

In unfolding the activities to mutually transfer stocks, the four plants also persist in relying on the masses. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, "In doing any work it is necessary to carry out a mass movement. Without the mass movement nothing can be accomplished." The worker masses are the masters of the plants and of the state, and naturally they are also masters of the material supply work. However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing trumpeted "relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative." If we carry out material supply work according to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "relative reliance" theory, we are bound to distrust the masses, and instead of relying on the masses, we would rely on only a few planning and purchasing personnel. Now that we have criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "relative reliance" theory, we have adopted the "three-in-one" method to let the planning and purchasing personnel, storekeepers and worker representatives jointly participate in adjustment activities. This makes it possible for the masses to see the significance of mutual transfer of stocks, and their active support is won. For instance, in the course of developing the material supply adjustment activities, owing to mutual and disinterested aid, the following situation often occurs: Just when stocks have been moved into the warehouse of a unit and the storekeeper has prepared the documents, they have to be taken out at once, thus causing considerable trouble to the storekeeper. Because everyone sees the significance of adjusting the supply of materials, they feel that though they have some trouble, so far as fraternal plants are concerned, being able to help them in time to solve their production difficulties is called for by the new-type relationship between socialist enterprises. So they accept the trouble. Many comrades say: Taking the materials out in this way is something we are willing to do, even if we face more trouble.

Merely half a year or more has elapsed since our four plants unfolded the material mutual aid and transfer activities, but we deeply feel that developing socialist cooperation with communist ideas and persistently handling material allocation with proletarian politics in command will make it possible not only to tap the potentials in materials but, more important still, to facilitate the development of the new-type socialist relationship between enterprises, consolidate and develop the socialist system of ownership by the whole people,and consolidate and develop the socialist economic base. Presently, we are summing up the experiences in order to develop them. At present, adjustment in mutual supply of materials has been extended from metals to other kinds of materials. Moreover, it is proposed to have each plant inform the other plants of its own inventories. In addition, when goods are ordered from other areas in the future and shipments are made, mutual coordination will also be practiced among our plants so as to prevent the past mistaken tendency toward mutual competition. We are resolved to study more seriously and criticize Teng more penetratingly, so that our stock control work may be done with still better results under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

(The above article is a joint speech draft prepared for delivery by the Party committees of the four plants -- the

Shanghai Turbine Plant, the Shanghai Heavy-Duty Machinery Plant, Shanghai Electrical Machinery Plant and Shanghai Boiler Plant -- at a meeting to exchange experience in serious study and penetrating criticism of Teng convened by the Municipal Party and Revolutionary Committees)

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